

The next most extensive soil type found in Siaton municipality is the San Manuel loam also present in the vicinities of Isabela and Sipalay, Negros Occidental.⁴¹ This secondary soil type has been deposited along the river courses through alluvial action. The inadequate drainage of the San Manuel loam with a water table only three or four feet below the surface, favors rice cultivation. In Siaton the San Manuel soil area is one of the largest lowland rice producing areas.

The fourth major soil series in Siaton municipality is the Siaton series. The Siaton Sandy Loam type occupies the narrow coastal strip from Siaton poblacion to Sta. Catalina. The soil is a well drained loam with an internal drainage which permits water impounded in paddies to stand for some time before it percolates completely. The lower horizon of the subsoil is sandy clay to clay loam and the lack of stones on the surface aids in its care. Corn and coconuts are the major crops of this soil in Siaton, although some lowland rice is raised.

The enclave of Dauin clay west of Zamboangita occupies a small, semi-circular valley devoted almost entirely to lowland rice. Many of the barriofolk in Sitio [438] • Mayabon specialize in making pottery. The bus to Siaton often stops here to load pottery for sale in Siaton poblacion.

⁴¹ibid., p. 46.

devoted to rice. About 12 per cent of the total cultivated land in Negros Oriental is devoted to rice while in Negros Occidental three times this amount (36 per cent) is occupied by rice.

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Today Negros imports rice from Panay and Mindanao to feed its people. Spencer states: "The main sugar-producing area of Negros Island [Occidental province] and the whole island of Cebu are the chief deficit regions, with marked food shortages."⁹⁰ In the past, however, Negros was a rice surplus area. Miguel de Loarca wrote in the latter part of the 16th century that northern Negros was "rich in foods, such as rice." Legaspi's account of Negros states: "Rice which is the bread, grows in abundance."⁹¹ Negros' shift from a rice surplus to a deficit was largely the result of the great expansion of sugar cane acreage and to the associated increase in population.⁹² Negros is capable of raising sufficient rice for its population with improved agricultural practices and increased irrigation.

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More than a thousand varieties of rice are grown in the Philippines. Many varieties are old established rice while others have been introduced from the United

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⁹⁰Spencer, op. cit., p.72.

⁹¹Miguel de Loarca, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., V, p.47.

⁹²Hernstedt, op. cit., p.190.

Birds, particularly crows (owak) and the rice bird (nava) often eat the maturing corn. Small nooses (la-ang) may be placed in young corn and rice fields. While these nooses are not actually traps but merely appear to be so they are said to frighten the "clever crows." A series of a dozen small nooses are also tied to a rope that is suspended between two poles in the fields.

Locust (lukton) are sometimes serious pests in the Siaton River valley. Two types of bamboo poles are used to frighten them away with rattling noises. A 6- or 7-foot bamboo pole is cut and the top crushed so it makes a loud noise when shaken. This type of pole is called a kasakasa. A second type, known as palakpak, is made by cutting slits between the two top internodes of a bamboo and it produces the same rattling noise as the kasakasa. (See Plate XXVI.)⁷

During the post-war years no locusts have visited Siaton. The last recorded invasion was in 1937; in Dolog the farmers are said to have killed 300 cavans of locusts. Trenches about 60 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 5 feet deep, were dug; the locusts were driven into them and covered with earth. This method of killing locusts is called gahong.

Lucas Ege's grandson told me once the Negritos came to the barrio to barter charms to protect the corn fields from the locusts.⁴² They brought small bottles ("there

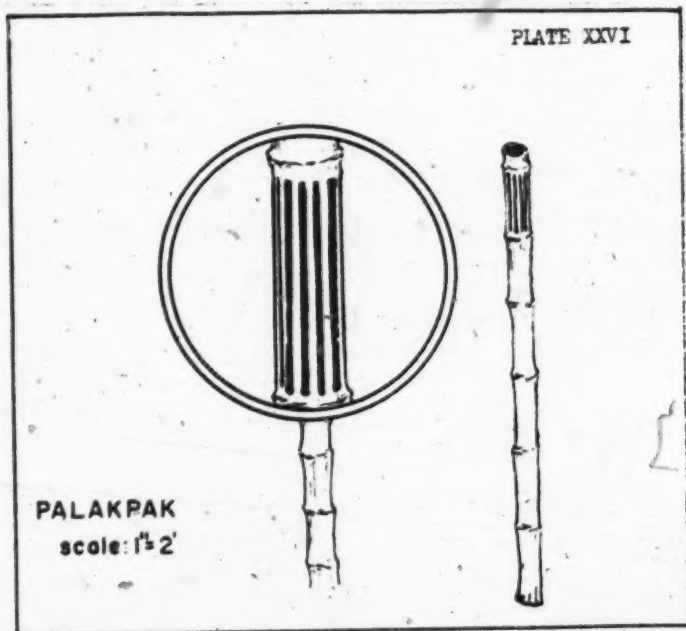
⁴² Sometimes the barrio folk mentioned Negritos who once visited their community. Whether these people were true Negritos I do not know. It is quite possible that they were a Negrito-appearing people whom the barrio folk classified as Negritos.

1[See p. 340, cat. 243 or 116--Analyst]

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were plenty of bottles then because the Chinese stores sold much wine") containing roots known only to the Negritos. The bottle was taken by the purchaser who walked around his field once, burying it in the center. "Even if the locust came to the field they would not eat the corn." After the harvest the bottle was uncovered and used again. However if the bottle was brought inside the



house, the roots were said to turn into sipins, mythical kangaroo-like animals of local folklore. This informant's mother once bartered a blanket for such a bottle with a visiting Negrito. His father was furious when he learned of the barter and made his wife return the bottle. None of the barriofolk have such bottles today for their contacts with the Negritos have ceased.

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Most barriofolk go to Omanod to work as harvesters, while some women and young girls go to barter bread, matches, used American clothing and other wares for corn. These vendors rarely sell their wares for money. They barter for corn, and get more corn than they could if they sold their articles. Sometimes, when the harvest is over, the vendors will sell their remaining merchandise rather than carry it home. Others go to Omanod solely to buy corn for the price is lower than in Siaton poblacion. The people usually stay with relatives or friends in Omanod during the harvest period.

Unhusked corn is usually stored in the house, the ears piled in a corner of the room or in a bin. Corn is not husked until it is ready to be shelled and ground. Lagit stones or sea shells may be put with the corn to protect it from the weevils that often do considerable damage. Perhaps only one out of every twenty families in Caticugan has a separate storehouse for corn. The average family's corn supply is small and consumed steadily so individual storehouses are unnecessary. Storehouses that exist are usually built near the residences, although in a few cases they may be at the field's edge. Theft is rare because many would be afraid to steal corn for fear of barang.⁵⁰

⁵⁰Barang is the belief in the supernatural ability of certain persons to cause illness or death to their enemies. These specialists are said to own magical bees that are trained to penetrate the victim's body at their owner's command. Several cases of deaths allegedly due to barang motivated by thievery were reported by the barriofolk of Caticugan.

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Powdered tan-bark (tongog), purchased in the poblacion and pounded in the mortar, is added to the sap that has been collected in the jar. During the war when the tan-bark from Mindanao was unobtainable, the bark of the antipolo tree was used as a somewhat unsatisfactory substitute. Tan-bark is not grown locally, most of it comes from Mindanao, and costs about ten cents a pound in Siaton poblacion. The addition of the powdered tan-bark gives the guhang a golden color, improves its flavor, and is said to prevent diarrhea.

Guhang vendors are always young girls or women, reflecting the general barrio pattern that vending is a woman's job. The vendor's profits are small. A dama (17 to 18 quarts) of guhang wholesales from the buri's owner for about seventy-five cents. The standard price for a quart of guhang in Siaton poblacion is five cents; therefore, a vendor's profit on a dama is about ten to fifteen cents.

Profits of the vendors are limited not only by the price but by the supply of guhang. Often the stalls in Siaton poblacion would close early in the evening for lack of guhang. Every evening men, and a few women, usually residents of the poblacion, collect at the guhang stalls to drink and talk; I rarely saw intoxicated drinkers at these evening gatherings. A pleasant custom of the poblacion stall owners permits prospective customers to sample guhang to determine its taste, without cost, before buying.

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to show on the Land Use map. Otherwise cassava was intercropped with corn or corn and balatong. Farmers reported that cassava grew best on well-drained sloping fields with sandy soil. If the fields are not well-drained the roots are small and many of them rot. Since cassava normally is dug during December and January, the start of the dry season, it would be difficult to dig the tubers in clayey soil.

The barrio folk said when cassava was planted alone the field was plowed twice before the rains, replowed after the rains and lastly furrows were made. The fields were well plowed so the soil was soft and the roots could expand; this also makes it less difficult to dig the roots. Cornfields intercropped with cassava are not prepared in a special way. Since little cassava is raised in Caticugan it is often difficult to get cuttings. Farmers may go to the owners of caingins in the mountains to obtain cassava plants, bartering for them like camote cuttings. The large cassava stalks are cut with a bolo into pieces four or five inches long.

Cassava was said usually to be planted as early as April or May but in 1951 most of the cuttings were planted in early July. The cuttings are planted in hills spaced about the same distance apart as corn. Usually four or five cassava cuttings are put in each hill. Some planters cover the cuttings completely while others cover only the lower portion of the stalks. If the entire cutting is covered no precautions are necessary in planting.

damaged by farmyard animals they receive no care. Rats are the greatest pest. Sometimes the ground under many trees is littered with fallen young nuts that rats have gnawed to eat the tender meat. In Caticugan no one attempts to protect their trees from the rats. In the northern barrios now and then I saw thorny vines wound around the trunk to keep the rats from climbing the palm.

The first nuts of a palm are harvested without any ceremony. Normally in Caticugan the nuts are harvested every three months, by a man who climbs the tree using notches cut into the trunk. Nuts are either twisted from their stems or cut with a bolo. Husking the nuts is often done by the women. The nut is split and the meat extracted with a bolo or smaller knife; the meat is then dried on mats in the sun for three days. The copra (dried coconut meat) is sacked, carried to the poblacion and sold at any of several Chinese stores. Chinese copra dealers in Dumaguete send trucks along the National Road to pick up the copra from local stores.

It is difficult to assess the income the barrio people receive from their copra. Copra prices vary from year to year as do the harvests. A farmer in Barrio Caticugan said forty trees earned him fifty dollars in one year; another reported an income of sixty dollars from fifty trees. The owner of the largest coconut grove was not willing to divulge data of income received from copra. However, a tenant said just from one harvest the owner got twenty sacks of copra weighing from 135 to 150 pounds

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March and April, tangkong sells for more than when a larger supply of kalamongay and other vegetables are for sale in the marketplace. When the price is high a small bunch of tangkong sells for five centavos (two and a half cents). When other vegetables are available one may buy three bunches of tangkong for that price.

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Sometimes people will come to Barrio Caticugan from the poblacion or nearby barrios to buy tangkong. If they pick the vegetable they are given a cheaper price than if they purchase it from the owner. Normally the owners take their tangkong to the poblacion to sell; but three women and one man sold tangkong from their patches in Barrio Caticugan; the male vendor was a bayute. Vendors do not have much trouble selling tangkong, especially during the hot season when most vegetables are scarce. Tangkong is a good source of vitamins B and C and an excellent source of vitamin C; the leaves are said to have a mild purgative effect.⁷⁴

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Owners of tangkong patches sometimes let other vendors sell their greens in the poblacion and split the profits. This is done when the woman owning the tangkong cannot take her vegetables to the market. For example, one young mother, with a new baby, was unable to take her tangkong to the poblacion. She made an arrangement with a neighbor to sell her greens; the owner received a net

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⁷⁴ Brown, op. cit., III, p. 258.

(sikwa: Luffa acciangua Linn.); red peppers (sile: Capsicum frutescens Linn.); squash (salabasa: Cucurbita maxima Duc.) and stringbeans. One garden was planted with some halum (Amaranthus viridis Linn.), a stubby plant with edible reddish leaves that is said to be a favorite of the Chinese living in Manila.

Gabi

Gabi, commonly known as taro, is usually planted in Caticugan's canals. A low palm leaf wall is made by weaving leaves between bamboo stakes placed near the inside canal banks. The space between the wall and the bank is gradually filled with sediment where gabi is planted.

Gabi is eaten all year, when available, except on Holy Friday; many barriofolk believe if one eats gabi on this religious holiday they will become "nervous" and subject to "shaking fits." A few planted gabi in holes that were only partially filled so when the rains came the water was retained. Ubi is another root vegetable grown in Caticugan; it is not eaten, however, when the plant is leafing for then the roots are said to be fibrous. Little gabi and ubi are raised in Caticugan or sold in Siaton poblacion.

Tobacco

Only one family raised tobacco in Caticugan; they had planted about fifteen plants in their garden. Most of the tobacco smoked by the people is grown in Bacoing and

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Saun municipalities; vendors from these municipalities come to the Siaton marketplace every Saturday and Sunday to sell cured tobacco leaves. 438

FARM ANIMALS

Caticugan is typical of the Philippines in that the carabao is the farmer's most important animal. Pigs, goats and chickens also are found in most barrios. Caticugan and Siaton municipality, however, had more cattle and horses before the war than usual in so small a region of the Philippines. Prior to the Japanese invasion, a thriving cattle industry in Siaton municipality centered largely at Bondo. 231

Carabaos

The carabao is the most important beast of burden in the Philippines. The Bell Report states:

In general, the recovery in livestock numbers has been much slower than in crop production and because of the extensive use of carabaos and oxen for power, it has been one of the important factors retarding the recovery of crop output.⁷⁵

This report estimated that the 1940 carabao level in the Philippines would be attained in 1953. Bondo plateau, before the war, supported one herd of carabao said to number more than 800 head; it consisted of Pure Buffalo,

⁷⁵Technical Memoranda No. 1, Agriculture, "U.S. Economic Survey Mission's Report (Bell Mission), The Philippines Herald, Manila, (November 14, 1950), p. 2.

The barriofolk said that people living in the northern
barrios sometimes came to Caticugan to barter bolot for
corn. The corms are diced, boiled in coconut "milk" and
then salted or sugared to taste.

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Kobong (Tag: nani; Dioscorea hispida Dennst.), a
native yam, is also gathered. Like igao, kobong tubers
must be carefully processed before consumption.

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Encarnacion states that if kobong corms are eaten without
proper preparation they may produce death; the corms contain
a poisonous alkaloid called dioscorine.¹³ Kobong are
sliced into thin chips and dried for several days. Then
they are put in water, usually in a creek, on mats weight-
ed with stones. Each morning, for several days, "one
must stir the still water so the powder soaked off will
float away." Then the chips are squeezed and put under
the sun. This process removes the dioscorine and most
of the sugar and starch leaving mainly the fiber. When
thoroughly dried, kobong chips are pounded into a coarse
flour that is used to make porridge or stored. One should
not dig kobong when the wind moves the vine, according to
some informants, because if one does and later eats the
tubers dizziness results.

No wild seeds of any sort are gathered, or were in
the past, by the barriofolk of Caticugan. They do not
gather many wild vegetables, except for these corms. Some
collect wild tangkong or halum (often in the flooded

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¹³ Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 398-401.

are libgos, kolakdop, lavat and tangkotangog. Amamakol is said to be available throughout the year while the lavat, songadsongad and lavalava are gathered mostly in May and June.

Sometimes a lucky person finds a lot of mushrooms and sells them in the marketplace; they are quickly purchased. One day a young man came to Siaton poblacion with a half a gunny sack of libgos that he sold for five cents a hatful. Mushrooms are normally sliced and mixed with vegetables or fried in lard.

WILD FRUITS

Certain wild fruits are eaten in season. One popular fruit, somewhat similar to a cherry, is the lumboy (Tag: duhat; Syzygium cumini (Linn.) Skeels).¹⁵ Lumboys ripen in April and May; children often gather large quantities and sell them in the poblacion. In Sitio Katogasan (Barrio Datag), lumboy trees are said to be very plentiful.

Wild guavas (bayabas) are fairly plentiful in Oaticogan; they occur mostly in the nearby hills.¹⁶

¹⁵An analysis of the mineral content and food value of fresh and oven-dried lumboy samples has been made. The analyses indicate that lumboy is a good source of calcium and fair in iron. Brown, op. cit., III, pp. 156-9.

¹⁶Guavas are one of the commonest and best known fruits in the Philippines, a native of tropical America that has become thoroughly naturalized. Brown, op. cit., III, pp. 152-3.

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Guavas ripen in August and September. Rarely, the barrio-folk make guava dulce which is pulverized guava pulp, boiled in a frying pan filled with water until tender. The cooked pulp is eaten mixed with brown sugar.

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The small round fruit of the ano-on tree is eaten usually in April. The fruit is red when mature, it is often gathered by the children although the tree is not abundant in the vicinity of Caticugan. Fruit of the kamansilis (Pithecolobium dulce (Roxb.) Benth) is also gathered and eaten, particularly by the children. Many kamansilis trees grow in Caticugan, especially along the Siaton River bank. The fruit is small and flat and only the inner pulp is eaten. The bark of this tree is used also in tanning.

Some small wild-mangoes are gathered in August and September. The domesticated-mango is quite popular in Siaton and the demand always exceeds supply. People who have large mango trees often send boxes of the fruit to Dumaguete where they bring a higher price than in Siaton poblacion. Sometimes low fires are built under the mango trees to force early production of fruit.

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PALM FLOUR

A coarse flour can be made from the saksak, edlok and buri palms. This flour is an "emergency food" in Caticugan but some people in northern communities, like Dolog, use flour made from the saksak rather frequently before the first corn harvest. During the last war the

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(kinogay), cooked in green bamboo tubes, or prepared in the sinakol manner (steam cooked), often mixed with tiktik or binlod (finely ground cornmeal). Sometimes the people from the northern barrios in the Siaton River valley come to Caticugan to barter this type of flour for corn and rice. This was not done, to my knowledge, during this field research.

Hunting and food gathering activities are related to the inadequate food supply of the barriofolk. The wild pig is not a serious agricultural problem in Caticugan and the meat is admittedly inferior to that of the domesticated pig. Most wild plants are considered as "emergency foods" to be gathered and eaten only when staples are low; i.e., when the corn and rice from the last harvest are low and new crops are not ready to harvest. For barriofolk during this period the foods collected may be important; however, this is true only of a minority in Caticugan unless there is a poor harvest or crop failure.

If the cultivated food supply were adequate all year long, hunting and, particularly, food gathering, probably would cease. Young men might continue to hunt wild pigs for sport and some wild foods would, most likely, be gathered (the "delicacies" such as mushrooms, lumbay, etc.). The role hunting and food gathering play in the daily life of the barriofolk of Caticugan today is a reflection of seasonal inadequacy of food supply and low living standards.

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\$275 in Ragay Gulf. These figures illustrate the inflation that has occurred in the Philippines since 1938.

Table XXXIV, at the end of this chapter, lists the local, English and scientific names (whenever possible) of fish caught in Siaton bonsods; Table XXXV gives the frequency of their catch and class accorded them by people living in both the barrio and Siaton poblacion.
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Construction of the Fish Corral

Construction of bonsods in Siaton begins in late October or early November. Bonsods are built, for the most part, between Malabuhan and Salag Point; few bonsods are erected west of Salag Point because the coral sea floor makes it almost impossible to embed the posts. (See Plates XLIV and XLV.) In the past the long bamboo needed to build a bonsod could be cut in Caticugan and other barrios near the sea. Today bamboo is cut in Lantos, Balanan, and Casala-an and floated as rafts down the river since nearby bamboo resources have been exhausted. Some fish corral owners advance to the cutters in the barrios part of the money to be paid for the bamboo with full payment made on delivery. Long thick poles usually cost about twenty cents each; in Tanjay similar bamboos are reported to bring twice this amount.

Most of the rattan obtained to build the bonsods comes from Tolong municipality. The people said that once rattan grew abundantly in the hills near Caticugan;

² [See pp. 586A and B, cat. 116--Analyst]

¹ [see pp. 640-645 -- Analyst]

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today long trips must be made to more distant mountains to gather small supplies of rattan. Rattan cutting by Tolong barriofolk often results in conflicts between the rattan gatherers and individuals who have leased large tracts of forest for timber concessions.⁵⁶ Rattan

⁵⁶To cut rattan legally a permit must be obtained from the Bureau of Forestry that states the number of pounds of rattan that may be cut in a designated area; the permit costs \$2.50. Rattan licensees must also pay the municipality treasurer in which the rattan is cut a tax called gui-ya that amounts to about one cent a pound. An individual may be given permission to cut rattan in the same area where a timber concession has been granted.

Licensees frequently hired Bukidnons who live in the hills near Tolong to cut rattan in their concession. When these cutters are questioned by the employees of a lumbering concern to ascertain the legality of their activities, they give the name of the licensee who hired them. Sometimes Bukidnons cut rattan illegally and when discovered they give the name of an individual having a license to cut rattan but who has not hired them. The lumbering company may keep records of all licensed persons cutting rattan in their concession. The total rattan cut may be more than the permit allows if too many of these unauthorized cutters are included. The rattan licensees, too, may be purposely cutting more rattan than his permit grants. These irregularities may be reported to the local agent of the Bureau of Forestry in Tolong, who confronts the rattan licensee with violations of his permit that may be unknown to him. He may be fined or his permit cancelled. As a result, feuds develop between some rattan licensees and lumbering firms in southern Negros.

Rattan licensees who have been reported as illegally cutting excessive rattan may retaliate by reporting the presence of caingins in the area worked by the lumber concern; lumber concerns are legally required to prohibit caingins in the area they exploit. If caingins are reported, the firm may be fined or lose its license. Rattan licensees may also report illegal cutting or gathering of forest products not covered by timber concern's permit. As a result severe conflicts often occur between rattan cutters and timber concerns. This information was given me by Professor Oracion who knows the area intimately. Caticugan barriofolk cut rattan without a license but usually gather only small amounts for personal use.

prices vary according to size and quality. Needed supplies as wire and rope normally are purchased in Dumaguete.

Plate XLVI¹ illustrates the general shape and size of the typical Siaton bonsod. Bamboo poles (osok) used to make the bonsod walls (bolon and paniko) are sharpened at one end with a large bolo or saw; a small slit is made in the internodes of the bamboo that will be submerged. These slits permit water and sand to enter the bamboos making them heavier and easier to push into the sea floor. Usually a number of these internodes at the ends of the poles are filled with sand for the same purpose. A chisel (gobia) is used to make the slits.

From 120 to 130 bamboos are used to make the banata or matting of the bonsod. (See Plate XLVII)² Each section of the banata is from 78 to 84 feet long and about 30 feet wide. The bamboo splints (lag-e) that are woven together to make the banata are one-half inch wide. Sometimes the banata is called lag-e although, technically, the lag-e are the long bamboo splints of the banata. For the typical Siaton bonsod fourteen banatas are used. The banata enclose the bonsod to prevent the escape of the fish caught inside the corral.

Bamboo poles are split by the golayan. A long bamboo is split for a few feet at the end and a small piece of bamboo is jammed into the split end. The pole is placed on a raised platform consisting of two horizontal crossbars supported by two uprights. Two vertical bamboos are attached to the horizontal crossbars making

1 [See p. 589, cat. 226 or 335--Analyst]

2 [See p. 590, cat. 226 or 335--Analyst]

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Sale of Fish Caught in the Bonsods

Most fish caught in the bonsods are sold in Dumaguete because of the higher prices paid in the city. Fish are taken to Dumaguete by the busses that run between Tolong-Dumaguete and Siaton-Dumaguete. The bonsod owner pays fifty cents for each box (about the size of an orange crate) of fish hauled to Dumaguete; a tax of one cent a pound is paid on fish sold in the marketplace. Large fish like tuna are tagged on the tail and sent individually to the city market. When the tagged boxes of fish arrive in Dumaguete marketplace they are taken by the owner's agent (in one case a woman) who receives 10 per cent of the profits.

If a large bonsod catch is made and no busses are available until the next day, Siaton operators may hire a small truck owned by a local resident. Since ice is not available, the fish must be sold quickly or they spoil. The lament of a cafe owner near the Siaton River bridge was that during fishing season busses and trucks rarely stopped at his place because they were usually carrying fish to Dumaguete. The drivers feared a leisurely trip might cause the fish to spoil.⁶²

Marine fish never were plentiful in the poblacion marketplace during my residence--and fresh-water fish were

⁶²According to the Bell Report the Philippine fishing industry needs to be provided with "cold storage transportation to expand the market for fish, and...the development of freezer packers." The Bell Report, op. cit., p. 66.

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never sold there. The scarcity of fish may be somewhat atypical--although most residents claimed it was not--since the bonsod catches were small this year and the fish corrals destroyed earlier than usual. When the day's fish supply arrived in the marketplace, it was quickly sold; some days there were no fresh fish for sale. Since fish brings a higher price in Dumaguete even small amounts are taken to the city, draining Siaton of much of its fresh fish. For example, one afternoon a fish corral made a catch of more than thirty boxes of sardine. The owner sold a few boxes in Siaton, more from a sense of duty than for profit, at eleven dollars a box; the rest were sent to Dumaguete where they sold for thirteen dollars a box. As a result, whenever news comes to the poblacion that a large catch has been made, either in the bonsod or by netting, the people flock to the seashore to buy fish for their personal use or to sell in the local market.

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FISH NETS IN SIATON

Since the last war abaca nets have replaced the cotton twine nets once widely used in Siaton; twine nets are very expensive owing to inflation. In the past many large twine nets used were made in Japan whereas today most of them are said to be imported from the United States. Nets made of cotton twine are called pokot or signin; those made of abaca are called sahid or sinsoro.

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BOATS

Sakayan is the general term for all types of dug-out boats; there are two main classes. The banca (normally the bokaran and panahiran) is the larger group of boats, whereas the baroto, a smaller group, includes the begiw, tango, kayackagan, and solongan. The sailing boat, usually much larger than the banca, is called parkahan or paraq. There were no paraqs in Siaton although I saw some in Tolong poblacion. None of the boats in Siaton had inboard or outboard motors.

Many boats are made in Barrio Mangoto, Pamplona municipality; fishermen in Siaton rarely make their own boats because of lack of suitable timber in the vicinity. Sketches were made of the most frequently seen boats in Siaton; the panahiran, bokaran and begiw are the most numerous.⁷¹ (See Plate LVII.)¹

Barrio Mangoto is an hour's walk west of Pamplona coconut plantation, in Pamplona municipality. The community is situated in the hilly piedmont region of the Central Mountain range at the edge of a forest beset by caingins.

⁷¹I am grateful to Pedro Solde, a prominent fisherman of Siaton poblacion, for his assistance in introductions to his friends in Tanjay. Acknowledgement is also made to Antonio Torres, a Tanjay boat contractor of several decades, who made a special trip to Mangoto with me and my assistant to introduce us to the people. Two days were spent in Mangoto gathering most of the information presented in this section on boat construction. The data were augmented by Siaton informants who had purchased boats in Mangoto.

1[See p. 623, cat. 501 or 116 -- Analysis]

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trimmed. Sometimes the wood cracks. To fill cracks, the dried sap of the bolitik tree is pounded, winnowed until very fine, and then mixed with kerosene. When this mixture dries it is hard and waterproof. 395

Smaller hargots are carried by hand to the Tanjay River and paddled down to the poblacion. Large boats are pulled to the river by carabaos. Some individuals conduct another pandita when the boat is launched; they kill a pig and offer food to the spirits. They mark a charcoal cross on the boat's bottom "so it will be easier to pull to the river and will not be damaged." A buyer may come to Tanjay poblacion to receive his boat, or the boat may be taken to the purchaser; this depends on the original contract. Larger boats are finished in Tanjay, and the mast, strakes, and motor mountings are added. Boats are made in Mangoto for owners who live in Panay, Cebu and Siquijor. 438 • 483

Types of Boats in Siaton

Bancas may be classified into three groups according to their length: the small class averages from 18 to 30 feet; medium class, from 30 to 35 feet; and the large class 35 feet or more. Names, however, are usually given according to their use. The bokaran is used mainly to net fish inside the bongod. Bokarans do not have the outrigger (katek); this makes them easier to handle inside a fish corral. For the same reason bokarans are usually used to retrieve bobos although the panahiran also is so 501

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new slats installed. A local riddle accurately describes
the general appearance of most of the Caticugan dwellings.

Since birth all patches. What is it? A house

(Sukad nabata tapak samina. Unsa man? Balay)

COST OF BUILDING A BARRIO DWELLING

The basic materials used to build a barrio dwelling
are obtained in the locality, i.e., bamboo, nipa, house
posts, rattan, etc. Wire, nails, and galvanized iron
sheets are purchased in poblacion stores or, more frequent-
ly, obtained in Dumaguete. The use of wire, nails, iron
roofing and cement, for example, in the construction of
new dwellings in Caticugan, though still small, is increas-
ing. More families would have purchased these materials
~~during my residence except for~~ highly inflated prices and
restricted supplies. This trend toward using materials
that are made and normally purchased outside the community
(in contrast to going to the mountains to obtain materials)
will continue to reduce the bartering that still persists
in their basic economy and decrease the barrio folk's self-
sufficiency.

In the past, a family who decided to build a new
dwelling in Caticugan were assisted by neighbors and
friends. Today, however, when an individual constructs a
new house it is mainly a family task. If additional labor
is needed the builder may hire local carpenters. House
construction exemplifies the transitional process--from
community cooperation, to family, and gradually to the

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should point either east or south. The reasons for this custom have been forgotten; some speculated that maybe it was because when one floats bamboo down the river the larger ends point south. If rafters are made of timber instead of bamboo it is impossible to determine the "head" and people ignore the custom.

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The next step is to install the abay-abay (Plate LXIV, 16) that strengthen the sablavan and balabag; however, if timber is used the abay-abay are omitted. The roof framework (panalay) consists of a number of vertical and horizontal slats to which the nipa shingles (atop) are lashed. First the salagonting (Plate LXV, 27) then the hawak (Plate LXV, 26) and finally the katsaw (Plate LXV, 23) are added to the roof framework. The thickest end of the bamboo salagonting must be at the peak of the roof; otherwise it is believed the occupants will always be sickly. The katsaw should always alternate so the occupants will not suffer from nightmares. The hawak, that run the length of the roof, are tied under those that run the opposite direction; this is done to make it easier to add new nipa shingles.

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Nipa shingles cost from \$1.25 to \$1.50 per 100 in Siaton. Nipa swamp owners not only sell shingles in the nearby barrios but also send them to Dumaguete. The Siaton bus often stopped along the road, just outside the poblacion, to pick up large bundles of nipa shingles that the owner was taking to Dumaguete. Some go to a nipa swamp and cut the leaves to make one's own shingles, paying

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the owner for the material. This is cheaper than buying the shingles ready-made.

Shingles are made of strips of leaves "sewed" with rattan to a narrow bamboo alat. The leaves are doubled over the bamboo and rattan is interwoven below the stick to keep the leaves in place. Plate LXVI¹ illustrates how the shingles are attached to the roof; a nipa roof lasts from six to seven years. The barriofolk normally replace the rotted nipa shingles by twos and threes rather than re-roof the entire dwelling; new shingles are added just before the start of a rainy season.

When the roof framework is finished the roof is shingled. The first step is to put shingles on the silik (Plate LXIV, 10), the roof ridges. Before the first shingle is placed on the silik, a kapia snail shell and some river moss are placed under the shingle. As one informant explained:

In putting on shingles I put a kapia and river moss under the first one. In doing this I say to myself: 'I'll put this kapia here as a lihi so during strong winds the roof won't be destroyed. And I am putting moss here so my house will not be destroyed by fire.'

Another informant said kapia shells are used because "they are very hard to pry off the rocks in the river." Some added a few leaves found floating in the river to serve the same purpose as the river moss.

Many barriofolk consider it unwise to cut rattan by biting it when making the first tie in building a dwelling. One Naga informant told me:

1/[see p.685, cat. 342 or 116 -- Analyst]

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CHAPTER I

BARRIO HANDICRAFTS

INTRODUCTION

In pre-Hispanic times Filipinos imported porcelains, copper, iron, silk and other textiles; handicrafts played a smaller role in the country's economy in comparison with other Asian nations. The contemporary curio and handicraft industry of the archipelago is of fairly recent origin. The Spaniards did little to stimulate the development of handicrafts; the American period saw the introduction of machines and other facilities that often discouraged traditional handicrafts.¹ Since the last war the Philippine Government has tried to stimulate barrio handicrafts, ~~often~~ with the assistance of United Nations' specialized agencies and the United States. Caticugan illustrates the decline of handicrafts in southern Negros and some problems that need be faced if local industries are to thrive.

Increasing dependence for their pottery, clothing, fishing equipment and other household and personal equipment, on poblacion stores and Dumaguete City is characteristic of the district studied. Nearly all cooking

¹Spencer states, however, that "... the American period also has stimulated the development of regional specialities that perhaps more than offsets the elimination of particular products." Spencer, op. cit., p. 14.

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pottery is purchased; most of it is made in Dumaguete for none of the local womenfolk make their own pottery. In the near vicinity of Caticugan only one woman regularly made pottery that she bartered for food. Weaving of fine fabrics from banana fibers has ceased completely in the barrio; the weaving of abaca cloth is rapidly declining, though a few women still weave abaca for skirts, men's shirts, and a few other purposes. Abaca clothing, however, is quite unpopular with the younger generation and the barrio folk's style of dress is being changed by the post-war traffic in used American clothing.

Few baskets are made today in Caticugan. The winnowing basket that is used daily is normally purchased in the poblacion or in Dumaguete. I never saw a woman making such a basket, though several Naga women were said to weave them. Tin basins have taken the place of wooden basins and metal spoons and forks are rapidly replacing those made of coconut shell. The most widespread handicraft in Caticugan is the weaving of sleeping mats and bags from buri fronds; this handicraft appears to be threatened by a decrease in palms.

The decline of barrio handicrafts has been recognized by the Philippine government. School programs attempt to perpetuate and revive certain handicrafts; however, the school programs I observed do not promise to be very successful. Advice on the development or modernization of cottage industries has been given by American experts as one means of reducing the chronic

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Nearly all cooking

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underemployment of the barriofolk.² Most of these cottage industries aim at producing export handicrafts or luxury items. Perhaps most important is the changing attitudes of the barriofolk toward their own handicrafts. Abaca clothing is felt, by many young folk, to be a symbol of a rustic. The barriofolk claim that they can buy better and cheaper pottery than they can make. With the expanding role of money in the general economy, fewer people make handicrafts for bartering. As a result, in Caticugan, the younger generation, particularly women, grows up without training in basic handicrafts of their forefathers, and with an attitude that such training is neither desirable nor important.

This chapter deals with the following handicrafts that still exist in Caticugan and vicinity: (1) pottery; (2) huri weaving and basketry; (3) abaca weaving; and (4) woodwork, i.e., making wooden saddles and carved wooden bolo handles.

POTTERY

There are an estimated 20,000 potters in the Philip-
pines. "Much of the work is done by women who sit beneath

²Recently a crafts team was sent to the Philippines under the auspices of the Economic Cooperation Administration and the United Nations. It consisted of a furniture designer, a wood products designer, and a textile expert, Marianne Hammarstrom. The unpublished Hammarstrom report has been briefly, and somewhat inaccurately, summarized by Will Savoy, "Philippine Weavers Learn New Techniques," Department of State Field Reporter, I, No. 2 (September-October, 1952), pp. 13-4. I was able to secure a typescript copy of the original report.

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owing to firing difficulties. Most of my material on techniques of pottery was obtained from this cooperative Datag potter.

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Most clay cooking pots now used in Caticugan are made in Dumaguete city. In this city there is a district, Daro, that specializes in the manufacture of cooking pots, clay stoves and large waterjars for drinking purpose. Some pots sold in Siaton poblacion are made in Mayabon, Zamboangita, but are regarded as inferior to Daro's products. Mayabon is situated in a small enclave of Dauin clay that may explain the small pottery industry. (See Plate I, page 64.) A family came to Siaton from Daro in 1951 and started to make clay pots for sale in the poblacion; the business did not succeed and after several months they left.

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The decline of pottery in Caticugan and environs is due largely to improvement of transportation facilities in southern Negros. The superior clay wares of Dumaguete became easier to buy in Siaton poblacion. Better transportation facilities increased both the number and frequency of visits to the city. The pots became so cheap that the barriofolk preferred to buy rather than make them. One old woman of Caticugan explained: "I stopped making pots because it is hard work. I would get sick always having my hands in the cold clay, squeezing it. And they are very cheap to buy."

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As older women ceased their pottery activities, their daughters were not taught the technique. With a

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gradual increase of money circulating in the barrios over the years, funds were available for the purchase of pots. Another reason that may have had some influence on the decline of pottery in this locality was the Japanese occupation of Negros. A number of women who before the war made pots to barter during the harvest, stopped because of their fear of meeting Japanese patrols; they never resumed this activity after liberation.

Four popular sizes of clay cooking pots are sold in Siaton poblacion; Table XLI indicates their capacity and cost.

TABLE XLI

<u>CLAY COOKING POTS SOLD IN SIATON POBLACION</u>	
<u>Capacity (pounds of clean rice)</u>	<u>Cost (U. S.)</u>
1.5	5¢
2.25	8¢
4.5	10¢
10.0	15¢

Pots holding as much as 25 pounds of clean rice are made in Daro but they are rarely sold in Siaton. The local merchants will not risk bringing these large, expensive, and rather fragile pots from Dumaguete since breakage would mean a considerable loss. Larger pots are used when one cooks for a fiesta or wedding feast. Today, however, the 5-gallon kerosene can is replacing this large size pot. The smallest clay pots are called anlet in Siaton and anlet in Masbate Island.

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barriofolk. Possibly the developing jute industry of the Philippines will replace buri plaiting in the future.

BARRIO BASKETS

Three major types of baskets used by the barriofolk of Caticugan are: (1) the harvest basket, bukag; (2) the winnowing basket, niggo or ayasang; (3) and the shallow kalalaw used in abaca weaving. Several other types of baskets were made by schoolchildren in the poblacion but never used in the barrio; they are taught to make small bags and baskets that can be sold as curios. Basket-making is said to be predominately a woman's job, although some men make bukags. Baskets were made so rarely in Caticugan that I never saw any of these three types being plaited.

The bukag, previously mentioned in connection with the corn harvests, is a loosely plaited basket of thin strips of bamboo and rattan about 2 feet in height with an 18-inch opening. The bukag is roughly made and does not take much time to plait. This type of basket, to my knowledge, is always made by the barriofolk; I never saw any for sale in either the poblacion or Dumaguete. They are used, almost entirely, to carry unhusked corn from the fields to the house or storehouse.

The wide shallow basket used for winnowing the chaff from pounded rice or ground corn is called the niggo or ayasang. This basket also is plaited from rattan and thin pieces of bamboo. An increasing number of them are

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purchased by the barriofolk in the poblacion or Dumaguete; I often saw women, sometimes from Caticugan, returning home on the bus with winnowing baskets purchased in Dumaguete. Dumaguete's public marketplace had many stores that sold this type of basket. Two women who lived in Naga were said to plait and barter niggo baskets during harvest-time but I never observed them doing so. Unlike the bukag, the niggo is made sturdily and lasts for years with proper care.

Kalalaw are small baskets used to coil abaca thread during the weaving process. Since so few women plait in Caticugan, I never saw kalalaw being plaited. They are made, like the niggo, from thin strips of bamboo and rattan. They usually come in sets of three or four since each size is used for a specific type of abaca thread. I measured one set of kalalaw baskets; the figures are in Table XLII.

TABLE XLII

KALALAW BASKET MEASUREMENTS (Inches)

<u>Height</u>	<u>Width</u>
16-1/2	11
14-1/2	10-1/2
12-1/2	8-1/2
10-1/2	7

ABACA WEAVING

The three major areas of hand-weaving in the Philippines are: (1) northern Luzon (Ilocos region and the Mountain Province); (2) southern Luzon (Rizal and Bicol

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supports. (See Plate LXXII, 4 and 22.)¹ Unlike the looms in Ilocos that are built underneath the house, using the upright beams supporting the dwelling for part of the loom structure, Caticugan looms are kept inside the dwelling. The loom is a Malayan horizontal type with two foot treadles that manipulate two cord heddles for speedy intercalation of the spool shuttle.¹¹ The weaving product is a coarsely-woven stiff fabric called abaca (Cebuano: hinabol).

Nearly all women who wove abaca said they learned the technique from their mothers; one informant said she was taught by her father who had learned from his mother. A few men were said to weave, although no men living in Caticugan did so.

Stripping the fibers from the abaca plant and building the loom are a man's work, whereas the processing of the fiber, weaving and the final preparation of the cloth are a woman's work. Several older women in Caticugan were able to weave when they were in their early teens. There was one abandoned loom in Caticugan that the owner said was smaller than the normal loom; it had been used by a mother to teach the girl to weave. Normally, however a girl learns to weave on the regular-size loom.

No abaca is grown in Caticugan so the fibers must be purchased from abaca-growing communities. This may be a minor factor in the decline of weaving in Caticugan.

¹¹On this matter see the articles by H. Ling Roth, "Studies in Primitive Looms, Part III: 6. Indonesian Looms," The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, XLVII, 1917, pp. 323-66.

1 [See p. 710, cat. 286 -- Analyst]

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Most abaca used for weaving is bought in the northern barrios of Bantolinsao and Nasig-Id. Several women were furnished abaca by the owner who later received one-half of the cloth.

Fiber to be woven must be stripped from the abaca plant with special care; for example, no pulp should remain on the fiber. Often growers who sell abaca to the Chinese in Siaton poblacion purposely leave pulp on the fibers so the bundles will weigh more.

Dyes

Three vegetable dyes, tagun, taloto, and antipolo, were once used to dye colored weft thread for abaca cloth. Tagun (Indigofera suffruticosa Mill) grows wild in the nearby hills; once in the past it was cultivated as a source of black dye. Domesticated tagun, according to the barriofolk, made a better dye than the wild variety. Water was heated and tagun leaves were added; a little lime was then sprinkled into this mixture and care taken lest the water boil. "If the water boiled," one woman explained, "the dye was not any good because the leaves became tender right away." Bark of the taloto and antipolo trees was powdered to make a red dye. Red fibers were sometimes re-dyed with tagun "so they would be reddish and very shiny." Today these vegetable dyes are rarely, if ever, used. Weavers buy chemical dyes in the poblacion; a package of four different dyes costs ten cents.

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discouraged most women who knew how to weave. Since no abaca is grown near Caticugan, it is necessary to make a long, tiring trip to the mountain caingins of the north. Weavers of Caticugan probably would have woven more if abaca had been cheaper and easier to obtain.

Second, abaca fabric is stiff and scratchy; soaking and pounding the material helps but it remains uncomfortable to wear. Third, the younger generation, for the most part, is prejudiced against abaca clothing that they regard as a symbol of rusticity. This attitude, with improved educational facilities and increased contacts with Dumaguete, may not be expected to decline. Most young people said they were ashamed to wear abaca clothing to church or to festive events such as the fiesta. As one informant explained:

Some people will tease you if you wear abaca clothing. 'Why are you wearing abaca? You look like the old people in the ancient times'--this is what they may say.

Only the children of the poor wore abaca clothing to school in Siaton poblacion.

With the decline in the number of Caticugan weavers, young girls are not being taught to weave. I never saw a young woman weaving in the barrio; the weavers were always older women. Some young people said they did not wear abaca clothing because no one in their family could weave. Mothers explained their daughters were not interested in learning to weave for they preferred to wear clothing purchased in the poblacion stores. In the past a mature woman

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who could weave skillfully was a more desirable mate than one who could not. Difficulties of obtaining abaca fiber, the cost, and the tedious and time-consuming processes of preparing thread, weaving, and processing the woven fabric--plus the growing satorial sophistication of the young generation--militate against weaving in Caticugan.

The most recent event that probably has dealt the soun de grace to any increase of abaca weaving for clothing in the future is the sale of used American clothing; the barriofolk speak of this as "relief clothing." After the last war tons of used American clothing were sent to the islands for rehabilitation purposes. Some of the clothing was sold illegally to the people and a new post-war Philippine business was born. Today used American clothing is imported regularly to the Philippines with Cebu City as a distribution center for the Visayas. Agents go to the city to buy the clothing that they later sell in rural areas through Negros.

Every Sunday in Siaton poblacion Dumaguete vendors came to sell used American cotton and silk dresses, blouses, and children's clothing. At every fiesta I attended there were vendors who had big piles of used American clothing through which the barriofolk hunted for correct sizes. My impression was that most of the clothing was for women or children. As a result a new source of inexpensive clothing competes with abaca garments--and is modifying the barriofolks' mode of dress. T-shirts are replacing the abaca shirt of the past as cotton trousers have already done.

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Men buy iron bolo blades in the poblacion or Dumaguete and make their own wooden handles. The only decorative wood carving found in Caticugan occurs on the ends of bolo handles. When the owners were asked what animal the carved head on the handle represented, they usually did not know. Most of the carved figures are quite similar in style. (See Plates LXXIX and LXXX.)¹

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These carved heads on bolo handles in Caticugan may possibly derive from a modified version of the mythical Garuda of ancient Indian folklore and art. The Garuda figure probably was diffused to the Philippines from Indo-China or Indonesia during the ascendancy of Hindu empires in this area, e.g., Champa and Sri-Vishaya.

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Krieger writes:

The art of metal work, as well as decorative motifs based on the lotus flower and other Hindu cult representations, are characteristic of influence from India [in the Philippines].²¹

Dwellings still exist in Panay that have carved exterior decorations showing Hindu influence.²² Beyer writes: "The most cultured Philippine languages contain many Sanskrit words, and the native art a noticeable sprinkling of Indian design."²³ Magahats also carve heads of animals on their bolo handles that are quite similar to those of Caticugan.²⁴ It is my impression that carved bolo handles are found in most parts of the Philippines.

²¹Herbert W. Krieger, Peoples of the Philippines. War Background Studies No. 4. Washington, Smithsonian Institute, November 13, 1942, p. 30.

²²A number of archaeological finds in the Visayas indicate Hindu influence in the area. For example, a small bronze image of the Hindu god Siva was found in Mactan, off Cebu, that probably dates from the time of the Majapahit empire. Beyer, op. cit., p. 361.

1 [See p. 735 ff, cat. 531 or 412 -- Analyst]

[pp. 738 + 739 are missing -- Analyst]

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The barriofolk are quite unaware of the possibility that their Garuda-like carved bolo handles may symbolize Hindu influence in their cultural heritage. It is curious that only bolo handles are selected; none of the other weapons or personal equipment is carved for decorative purposes. Perhaps the explanation lies in the importance attached to a man's bolo in pre-Hispanic Philippines.

Various household articles are made by the barriofolk of Caticugan. Long pieces of bamboo are hollowed and used to carry water from the springs and river to the houses. Spoons and dippers of coconut shell are fixed with rattan to bamboo handles. A few young men make ukeleles from local woods, buying only the gut strings. I never saw parents make toys for their children.

SUMMARY

The meager barrio handicrafts in Caticugan are in a state of decline. Abaca cloth is woven less frequently than in the immediate past and certain types of weaving and fabrics have disappeared. Most barriofolk consider abaca a poor substitute for cotton garments; imported used American clothing is changing the people's mode of dress. Self-sufficiency of the barriofolk in pottery has been lost; today nearly all of them depend on pottery wares produced in Dumaguete. Bamboo drinking cups, plates and eating

²³ Benitez, op. cit., pp. 21-2.

²⁴ Oracion, op. cit., p. 40.

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utensils (still used by the Magahats) have been replaced with glass- and tinware. However, in all of these examples the new products are functionally superior to those formerly made.

In each case the handicraft products have been replaced by items made outside the local community. Most cotton cloth, tinware, etc., sold in the Philippines (and Caticugan) are imported. Pottery comes largely from Dumaguete. With the development of the infant Philippine jute industry it is possible that buri weaving will decline. Gunny sacks make better bags than does buri.

These various changes have led to a diminution of the former independence and self-sufficiency of Caticugan's rural community. This trend has been described in other aspects of barrio life, fishing, agriculture, etc. The material products of the city are reaching the barrio as well as new attitudes and modified appreciations from the city folk.

In my opinion, only inexcusable sentimentality laments the passing of handicrafts that use obsolete equipment and time-consuming techniques to make inferior products. The barrio folk of Caticugan are enmeshed in the Machine Age; this is inevitable, desirable and long-delayed. Their growing dependence on the urban machine economy will not be reduced by revival of cumbersome, unproductive handicrafts. For revival or stimulation of weaving and pottery in Caticugan, for example, necessitates more than improved equipment and better designs. The pride and sense of achievement

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in handicrafts, an attitude usually transmitted by craftsmen to their children, have largely disappeared. Often inferior articles made in the United States are preferred to Philippine-made articles, even when the latter are of better materials and more careful workmanship. The most promising long-range program needed to raise harric living standards is to increase the productivity of their major activity--more and better farmed land with more abundant harvests.

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